

CAPITALISM

**. . . BREEDER OF
RACE PREJUDICE**

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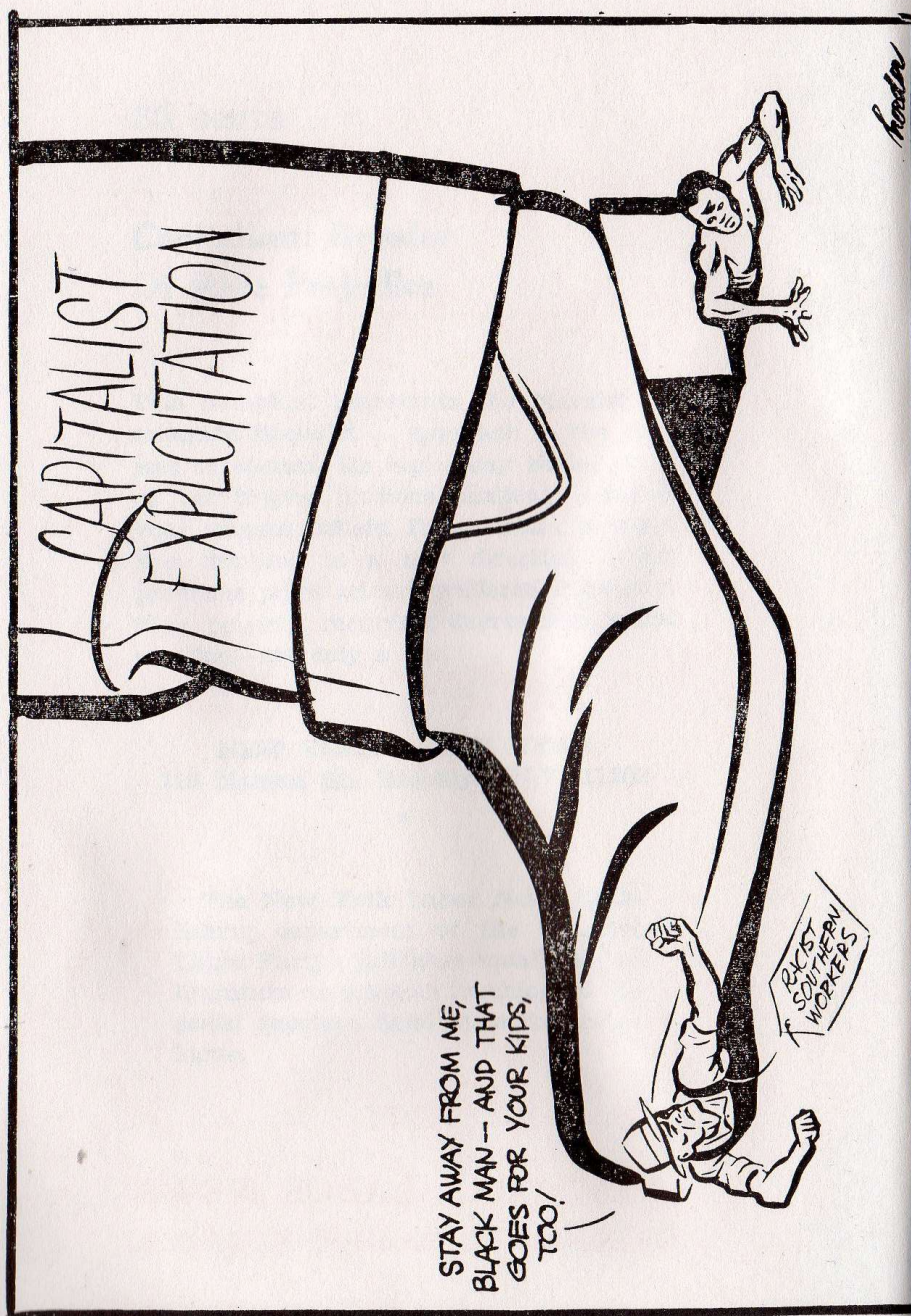
Capitalism: Breeder Of Race Prejudice

This pamphlet represents the Marxist — scientific Socialist — approach to the subject of racism. Its logic may shake some of your fondest illusions, challenge some of your deepest beliefs. It is certain to start you thinking in a new direction. Other problems press on a bewildered humanity. War, poverty, recurring depressions, social reaction—are only a few.

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1. The Fight Against Effects

SINCE THE BEGINNING of World War II, the United States has witnessed a many-sided attack on one of the most pernicious evils of our times—the evil of racism. Spurred by the material interests of American capitalism, American wartime propaganda attacked and derided the racial doctrines of the Nazis. This inevitably stirred up efforts to end the most conspicuous manifestations of racism in the United States. Further spurred by military expediency, among the first steps taken were those aimed at ending segregation in the armed services. For similar reasons of expediency, Executive Order 8802 was issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt setting up the Fair Employment Practices Committee and forbidding government contractors to discriminate against workers “because of race, color or national origin,” thereby making available on the labor market a greater number of workers for America’s speeded-up wartime industries.

Carried along by the momentum furnished by the wartime needs of American capitalism, and receiving added impetus from the exigencies of the “cold war” that developed soon after, postwar efforts at dealing with manifestations of racism included a succession of court decisions outlawing racial discrimination in several important areas, the climax of which was the Supreme Court decision of 1954 banning segregation in public schools.

On the educational front, too, efforts were made to improve race relations. A host of biracial organizations sprang up in which reformers and the ever-present "do-gooders" attempted to demonstrate that the races could live and work together in harmony. Several of the unions adopted resolutions on racial equality, especially in the field of job opportunities, but these were mostly lip-service to a question that was attracting widespread attention. Finally, the scientific facts exposing ideas of racial inferiority as utterly unfounded were given wide circulation.

One example of these refutations of racial myths was a document issued by a group of scientists working under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1950. Among other things, the UNESCO panel of scientists agreed that:

- 1) The range of mental capacities in all races was much the same.
- 2) There was no evidence that race mixtures produced biologically bad results.
- 3) Race was less a biological fact than a social myth.
- 4) No large modern national or religious group was, scientifically speaking, a race; "ethnic group" is the term the UNESCO scientists preferred.

Nevertheless, despite Supreme Court decisions outlawing Jim Crow, despite the effort of so-called brotherhood groups, despite whole libraries of scientific refutations of racial myths, capitalist society is still deeply infected with the sickness of race prejudice.

Indeed, it is a grim and paradoxical fact that race tension is mounting in the United States today.

Why?

The answer is a relatively simple one. While a great deal of effort has been made to minimize and alleviate the *effects* of racism, nothing whatever has been done to eliminate its *cause*. For the cause of racism is not the false ideas or racial myths conceived and spread by the white supremacists. Nor is it the legal structure erected to give these false ideas the force of law. The cause of racism is rather the irrational, strife-ridden, class-divided capitalist system.

There were other hatreds and other prejudices before capitalism, but the capitalist era was the first in which man, driven by material interests, discriminated against his fellow man because of the color of his skin. It is worth pondering that *the very concept of race, and even the word itself, are products of the capitalist era.*¹

But, what is it in the capitalist system that inescapably breeds the racist evil? What is it that confounds even sincere efforts at ending discriminatory racial practices under this system?

In what follows we shall answer these questions. We shall also trace the historical conditions in which racism developed in the United States—thereby giving the lie to the claim that segregation practices are rooted in ancient "folkways." We shall prove that these practices are themselves of comparatively recent origin, and that they were deliberately enacted by

¹ "The fateful word 'race' itself is actually not yet two hundred years old." — Gunnar Myrdal, "The American Dilemma," page 89.

the capitalist class of the Southern states in order (a) to insure themselves an ample supply of cheap, unresisting labor, and (b) to keep the working class divided on racial lines.

Finally, we shall show how the capitalist cause of racism may be uprooted, and how a firm material foundation for human brotherhood may be laid.

EXPERIENCE OF THE GERMAN JEWS

First, though, a word of warning to all workers, whatever their color or race, who still look for a gradual, step-by-step solution of the race problem.

This was also the hope of the German Jews. In the 17th and 18th centuries the Jews were forced to live in segregated ghettos. But gradually their condition improved. They were freed from the ghettos. Little by little they acquired civil rights. By World War I, Jews were serving as officers in the Kaiser's army, and other Jews were prominent in science, art, finance and even in government. Then, in a single terrifying decade, the gains of two centuries were wiped out. German Jewry was all but exterminated by the capitalist reaction we know as Nazism.

There is a lesson in the tragic experience of the German Jews—a lesson especially for those who still think the solution to the race problem will come gradually through reforms, court decisions, the appointment of hand-picked Negroes to political jobs, etc., etc. It is a lesson that once again points to the capitalist system as the breeding ground of race prejudice.

As for our working-class brothers who are impatient, who reject gradualism, and who want a showdown on the race issue as soon as possible, we say this: As So-

cialists, as men and women bent on bringing to birth a world of freedom, peace and brotherhood, we feel a deep sympathy for all who resist the degradation and proscription of racial discrimination. We applaud their militant spirit. And we believe in the moral rightness of their cause.

Nevertheless, candor and our vital interest in the emancipation of the working class compel us to state that they, too, are struggling against an effect, leaving the cause untouched. And as long as the cause remains, the infection remains, frustrating all aspirations for brotherhood.

2. How Capitalism Breeds Prejudice

WHAT IS IT IN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM that breeds this social evil?

The Socialist Labor Party has examined this question with scientific thoroughness. It has studied the history of the claims and theories of racial superiority and inferiority. It has followed the trail of evidence carefully, and this trail has invariably led back to people who gain material benefits from the conflicts and divisions created by race conceit and race discrimination.

To learn who those people are we have only to examine the leading features of the capitalist system.

Under capitalism the means of social production—land, factories, mines, stores, railroads, etc. — are owned privately by a relatively small class of capitalists. The great majority of the people own no tools of their own, and in order to live they have to go to the capitalists, hat in hand, to sell their labor power (which is to say, their ability to work) as a commodity. For the capitalists this is a highly profitable arrangement. They buy the workers' labor power at its market price. But when the workers are on the job and deliver their labor power they produce a good deal more than is represented by its price—four or five times more. We call this unpaid labor *surplus value*. This the capitalist appropriates. Of course,

the whole of the surplus value is not pocketed by the employing capitalist. He has to divide with his fellow capitalists—the landlord, the banker, the legal fraternity, the tax collector, the insurance capitalist, the advertising capitalist and a lot of other hangers-on of capitalism. In short, the capitalists, *as a class*, exploit all the workers, *as a class*.

In simple terms, this is the way the exploitation of labor takes place.

It is self-evident that the less the capitalist has to pay for labor power, that is, the less he pays in wages, the more he can appropriate as surplus value. It's like dividing an apple in two parts — if one part is smaller, the other part is necessarily larger.

Once this is understood we are very close to one of the reasons why Negroes and other racial minorities are segregated and humiliated and held down to a status of second-class citizenship. To put it bluntly, by ostracizing racial minorities, by holding over them the threat of violence—and thus forcing them into submissive patterns of behavior—the ruling class supplies itself with a great pool of cheap, unresisting labor.

This is *one* way the capitalists benefit from race prejudice and race discrimination, and the most obvious. But there is another, more subtle way.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

We have shown that labor's product is divided between the wages paid to the workers and the surplus value taken by the capitalists. We said it's like dividing an apple—if one part is smaller, then the other part is larger, and vice versa.

By the very nature of things there is a struggle

between the capitalists and workers over this division. The capitalists, either because they are forced by competitive compulsions, or out of sheer profit hunger, constantly try to increase their share. Contrariwise, the workers resist the capitalists' encroachments and strive to maintain their living standards, and even improve them. This is the focal point of the class struggle that rages in modern society.

There is but one way to end this irrepressible and irreconcilable struggle. That is by abolishing the outmoded capitalist system, and replacing it with the next higher social order decreed by social evolution. Manifestly, only a *united* working class, a working class that has freed itself of its divisive conceit and prejudice, and is inspired with classconsciousness, can accomplish this great humanity-liberating social transformation.

Therefore, it is plainly in the capitalists' interests to *prevent* the working class from uniting. And race prejudice is one of the most insidious and effective devices ever invented for blinding the workers to their class interests, and keeping them divided and fighting each other. As Daniel DeLeon, America's foremost Marxist, summed up the point half a century ago:

"Capitalism has ever striven to keep the workers divided. Without division in their ranks capitalism could not and cannot preserve its rule of human ruination. Nothing was more effective to that end than the fomenting of racial animosities and racial conceit. These means capitalism employed. The successful use thereof has kept labor a dislocated giant." (WEEKLY PEOPLE, Sept. 26, 1908.)

The capitalists have been greatly aided in this by

the competitive nature of their system. For it is not the capitalists alone who compete against each other; the workers also are cast in competitive roles. They must compete for jobs.

The logic of the situation may be simply stated. The fewer the number of workers competing for the jobs, say of carpenters, the better chance each worker has. If there are 25 jobs and 100 workers lined up to apply for them, then only one in four will get work. But if there are only 50 applicants, one in two will be hired. Better yet, if the number of applicants is only 25 or less, all are sure of being employed.

The one obvious way to limit the competition for jobs is to exclude Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and other minorities who can be identified, either by the color of their skins, or some other way, from the carpenter market.

But such exclusion requires a "moral" pretext. It is found in racial myths and libels, myths and libels that are not looked at too carefully. They are believed when it serves one's material interests to believe them.

UNIONS AND THE NAACP

This is the reason the procapitalist unions (AFL-CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, and others) have failed in their attempts at eliminating race bias. During and after World War II the unions, especially those in mass production industries such as autos and rubber, adopted widely publicized plans for "equality" and "brotherhood." In practice, however, discrimination continued in the unions in many subtle ways. The issue came to a head in January, 1959, when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent a sharply worded memorandum to George

Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, accusing that organization of failing to act vigorously against discrimination.

The memorandum is worth examining for the light it throws on the contrast between the asserted aims of the AFL-CIO and its actual practices. Prepared by Herbert Hill, NAACP labor secretary, it asserts that "all too often there is a significant disparity between the declared public policy of the national AFL-CIO and the day-to-day reality as experienced by Negro wage earners in the North as well as in the South."

Some AFL-CIO affiliates still exclude Negroes from membership, others confine them to segregated locals. Ironically, in Washington, D.C., because of the "lily-white" exclusion policy of building trades unions, Negroes were even barred from employment in the construction of the new AFL-CIO national headquarters.

Discrimination tends to increase as the job situation worsens. The tendency is reflected in unemployment figures. In March, 1958, at the low point of that particular capitalist "recession," 14.4 per cent of the nonwhite workers were jobless as against 6.9 per cent of the white workers.

The unions fail to practice the equality they preach for reasons not too difficult to understand. Being merchandisers of labor they are organized to provide the kind of labor capitalists will buy. Accordingly, where capitalist buyers of labor power demand segregated labor the unions practice segregation and where capitalists are willing to buy desegregated labor, the unions become paragons of "racial equality." In short, being

upholders and appendages of capitalism the unions themselves are a reflection of the evils bred by capitalism.

For that matter, the NAACP is also a staunch supporter of the prejudice-breeding capitalist system. Its leaders are as conservative and procapitalist as the leaders of the AFL-CIO, or as the most hide-bound capitalists themselves. Indeed, the NAACP, by functioning as a prop of capitalism, by channeling the energies of Negro workers in a futile struggle for reform, is actually helping to preserve the social climate in which prejudice thrives.

And so the working class is kept divided, the capitalist class remains in the saddle—and the outmoded capitalist system keeps all society in turmoil and conflict, postponing the day of international peace and social harmony.

3. How Capitalism Sired Jim Crow

THE FALLACY IS DELIBERATELY encouraged by racists, especially by the white supremacists of the South, that separation of the races is deeply rooted in ancient "folkways." A brief examination of the circumstances in which the segregation laws arose exposes this fallacy.

Fact is, under slavery, Negroes who served as house slaves (a numerous category in the Old South) had close and intimate relations with their masters. Negro and white children played together freely. There was no fear of "mongrelization of the races"—although, as a consequence of the sex practices of white masters, there was a great deal of mixing.

Moreover, even during the period of Reconstruction (1865-1877) and after Redemption (when federal troops were withdrawn from former rebel states) the races mingled in bars, restaurants and public parks. "At the International Exposition in New Orleans in 1885," wrote C. Vann Woodward, "Charles Dudley Warner watched with some astonishment as 'white and colored people mingled freely, talking and looking at what was of common interest . . .'. . . A frequent topic of comment by Northern visitors during the period was the intimacy of contact between the races in the South, an intimacy sometimes admitted to be distasteful to the visitor." ("The Strange Career of Jim Crow.")

This is not to say that voices were not heard

stridently declaiming for white supremacy. There were. But whereas today these voices have all but silenced reason and even "moderation" in many Southern communities, then they had no influence over large sections of the population. The *prevailing* attitude of Southern whites toward Negroes was expressed by the following editorial in the Richmond (Virginia) *Dispatch*, Oct. 13, 1886:

"Our State Constitution requires all State officers in their oath of office to declare that they 'recognize and accept the civil and political equality of all men.' We repeat that nobody here objects to sitting in political conventions with negroes. Nobody here objects to serving on juries with negroes. No lawyer objects to practicing law in court where negro lawyers practice . . . Colored men are allowed to introduce bills into the Virginia Legislature; and in both branches of this body negroes are allowed to sit, as they have a right to sit." ("The Strange Career of Jim Crow.")

AN UNCONSCIOUS PROPHET

As late as 1898, after the Western states of the South had enacted laws requiring railroads to carry Jim Crow cars, the movement was vigorously resisted in the Eastern states. However, in that year, it appeared that South Carolina might succumb. In a last-ditch effort to head the legislation off the Charleston *News and Courier*, the South's oldest newspaper, published an editorial that was meant to reduce the demand for Jim Crow cars to an absurdity.

"If there must be Jim Crow cars on the railroads [it said], there should be Jim Crow cars on the street railways. Also on all passenger

boats. . . . If there are to be Jim Crow cars, moreover, there should be Jim Crow waiting saloons at all stations, and Jim Crow eating houses. . . . There should be Jim Crow sections of the jury box, and a separate Jim Crow dock and witness stand in every court — and a Jim Crow Bible for colored witnesses to kiss. It would be advisable also to have a Jim Crow section in county auditors' and treasurers' offices for the accommodation of colored taxpayers. The two races are dreadfully mixed in these offices for weeks every year, especially about Christmas. . . . There should be a Jim Crow department for making returns and paying for the privileges and blessings of citizenship. Perhaps, the best plan would be, after all, to take the short cut to the general end . . . by establishing two or three Jim Crow counties at once, and turning them over to our colored citizens for their special and exclusive accommodation." ("The Strange Career of Jim Crow.")

Ironically, as Prof. Woodward notes, what the editor of the *News and Courier* "obviously regarded as an absurdity became in a very short time a reality . . . Apart from the Jim Crow counties and the Jim Crow witness stand, all the improbable applications of the principle suggested by the editor in derision had been put into practice—down to and including the Jim Crow Bible." ("The Strange Career of Jim Crow.")

THE COMPROMISE OF 1877

Actually, however, while strong resistance to white-supremacy fanaticism continued for many years throughout the South, the movement toward equality

was reversed by the infamous Compromise of 1877. The occasion for the compromise briefly was this: The outcome of the Presidential election of 1876 was in doubt. The Democratic candidate was Samuel J. Tilden, and the Republican, Rutherford B. Hayes. For months the dispute raged while the fate of the candidates hung in uncertain balance. Then, quite suddenly, the leaders of Congress agreed to submit the issue to a Committee of Fifteen, of whom eight were Republicans. Since the Republicans always voted as a bloc this was tantamount to handing the Presidency to Hayes.

To induce the Southern Congressmen to agree to this, and to reward their Democratic apostasy, federal troops were to be withdrawn from the Southern states and the carpetbaggers² repudiated. Thus, the Northern Republican politicians abandoned the Negro freedmen to their former masters.³

From this point on the Southern ruling class concentrated on reducing the Negro to a state of unresisting subservience. To accomplish this, two methods were tacitly agreed upon. One was violence. The other was a system of racial ostracism or segregation.

In its most decisive form, violence expressed itself in lynching. And it is noteworthy that it was during the 'eighties and 'nineties, when resistance to segregation was strong, that lynching reached its peak. The role of lynching in the system of white supremacy explains why the Southern ruling class is so adamant

² A term of contempt applied to Northerners who went to the South after the Civil War, especially those who went to make money by taking advantage of the unsettled conditions or political corruption.

³ For a documented account of the Compromise of 1877 see C. Vann Woodward's "Reunion & Reaction."

today in resisting a federal antilynching law. As Oliver Cromwell Cox put it in his book, "Caste, Class and Race":

"Lynching is crucial in the continuance of the racial system of the South. From this point of view lynching may be thought of as a necessity. This is not to say, however, that lynching is 'in the mores'; it is rather in the whip hand of the ruling class. It is the most powerful and convincing form of racial repression operating in the interest of the status quo. Lynchings serve the ruling class with the means of periodically reaffirming its collective sentiment of white dominance."

Segregation, equally crucial in the South's racial system, was less easily applied and, as indicated earlier, had a great deal of effective opposition to overcome. "More than a decade was to pass after Redemption before the first Jim Crow law was to appear upon the law books of a Southern state, and more than two decades before the older states of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina were to adopt such laws." ("The Strange Career of Jim Crow.")

Obviously, such reluctance to enact Jim Crow laws is incompatible with the white supremacists' present-day claim that racial segregation is rooted in Southern "folkways." Rather, it betrays a humane resistance to the base material interests of a ruling class.

4. In the North: From Prejudice To "Enlightenment"

SIGNIFICANTLY, WHILE THE Southern ruling class was plotting and maneuvering to restore the Negro to unresisting subservience, the Northern capitalists, including Northern "liberals," were busy looking the other way. Thus, the *New York Times*, May 10, 1900, editorialized:

"Northern men . . . no longer denounce the suppression of the Negro vote⁴ [in the South] as it used to be denounced in the reconstruction days. The necessity of it under the supreme law of self-preservation is candidly recognized."

As for the "liberals," let Prof. Woodward recount their views on the South's emerging race policies:

"The acquiescence of Northern liberalism in the Compromise of 1877 defined the beginning, but not the ultimate extent, of the liberal retreat on the race issue. . . . Since the Negro was the symbol of sectional strife, the liberals joined in

⁴ In 1896 there were 130,334 registered voters in Louisiana. In 1904, after literacy, property and poll-tax qualifications had been incorporated in the election laws, there were only 1,342. Similar laws were enacted throughout the South to eliminate the Negro from politics. However, many a perceptive Southern labor skinner saw in the weapons of Negro disfranchisement also the means of disfranchising the poor whites as well.

deprecating further agitation of his cause and in defending the Southern view of race in its less extreme forms. It was quite common in the 'eighties and 'nineties to find in the *Nation*, *Harper's Weekly*, the *North American Review*, or the *Atlantic Monthly* Northern liberals and former Abolitionists mouthing the shibboleths of white supremacy regarding the Negro's innate inferiority, shiftlessness, and hopeless unfitness for full participation in the white man's civilization." ("The Strange Career of Jim Crow.")

Although the attitude of Northern "liberals" subsequently underwent a second reversal, the conservative wing of Northern capitalism maintained a studied indifference to the racial pattern of the South. Indeed, as Northern capital built plants in the South it readily, even eagerly, embraced white-supremacy rules. The late Thomas I. Stokes, Pulitzer prize-winning columnist for the Scripps-Howard chain, writing in the *New York World-Telegram and Sun*, Nov. 16, 1951, alluded to Northern capitalist influence, saying:

"The truth is beginning to be suspected—that there is some selfish purpose behind the appeal to racial prejudice. The trick is for the politician, in league with the privileged, to rally the underprivileged interests by stirring up racial prejudice. That is disclosed if you inquire who provides the big chunks of money for the Dixiecrats. It is great corporate interests, many headquartered far from the South."

THE ROLE OF THE COLD WAR

Nevertheless, despite the tacit or active concurrence of Northern capitalists in the South's race policy, and despite their own prejudices, much of to-

day's criticism of the South's intransigence stems from plutocratic sources. Indeed, top capitalism has recently enlisted in the fight to end racial discrimination in the United States, at least in its most conspicuous forms. The lately awakened interest of the plutocracy in this subject is the real explanation for the reversal of the federal courts on the race issue.

There is no mystery in the present antisegregation views of top capitalists. Exigencies of the cold war—the imperialist struggle of U.S. capitalism with its Soviet bureaucratic rival — have forced them to adopt an "enlightened" view. The United States and Soviet Russia are rivals for the dominant role in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, areas in which colored peoples are in the process of winning national independence. They are peoples highly sensitive to racism, which they recognize as a major weapon in their colonial subjugation. Indeed, if there is one thing upon which the people of Africa and Asia are agreed, regardless of religion or class status, it is a general hostility toward racism. This was underscored at the famous Afro-Asian conference that met at Bandung, Indonesia, in April, 1955. Whether the black-, brown-, or yellow-skinned spokesman was pro-Soviet, pro-Western or neutralist, he was embittered by the memory of the racial conceit of present or past white rulers.

THE AFRO-ASIAN VIEW

The Afro-Asian view on the subject was summed up at the conference by the chief spokesman of the West, Carlos P. Romulo, a member of the Philippine Cabinet. In a stinging attack on all racists, Romulo said in part:

"I have said that besides the issues of colonialism and political freedom, all of us here are con-

cerned with the matter of racial equality. This is a touchstone, I think, for most of us assembled here are the people we represent. The systems and the manners of it have varied, but there has not been and there is not a Western colonial regime [including the United States] which has not imposed, to a greater or lesser degree, on the people it ruled the doctrine of their own racial inferiority. We have known, and some of us still know, the searing experience of being demeaned in our own lands, of being systematically relegated to subject status not only politically and economically, and militarily—but racially as well. Here was a stigma that could be applied to rich and poor alike, to prince and slave, boss-man and workingman, landlord and peasant, scholar and ignoramus. To bolster his rule, to justify his own power to himself, the Western white man assumed that his superiority lay in his very genes, in the color of his skin. This made the lowest drunken sot superior, in colonial society, to the highest product of culture and scholarship and industry among subject people.” (Quoted by Richard Wright in “The Color Curtain, A Report on the Bandung Conference.”)

Soviet Russia has not been reluctant to use the racist records of Western colonial regimes to win favor for itself. It has also made skillful use of racial discrimination in the United States in its drive to bring Afro-Asian peoples into its orbit. This was noted by Vice President Richard M. Nixon (among others), who said in his report to President Eisenhower of his trip to Africa in March, 1957:

“We cannot talk equality to the peoples of Africa and Asia and practice inequality in the United States. In the national interest [meaning

the *capitalist* interest], as well as for the moral issues involved, we must support the necessary steps which will assure orderly progress toward the elimination of discrimination in the United States.” (New York Times, April 7, 1957.)

But a sizable wing of the capitalist class turns a deaf ear to such appeals. To this wing the advantages of *integration* seem remote, even unreal, while the material advantages of *segregation* and the prejudice it feeds loom large and immediate. Nowhere in the United States is labor power as cheap as it is in the South. Negro labor power is, of course, cheaper than the labor power of white workers, and it is hired for all the hard, dirty and otherwise unpleasant tasks. But the wages of white workers, too, are depressed by the Negroes' vulnerability. This general cheapness of labor is no small factor in the heavy migration of capital to the South. Cheap labor means big profits. And very cheap Negro labor also means that more white masters can enjoy the luxury of Negro menials in their homes. Even a very small businessman in the South may have a Negro woman in to do the cooking, cleaning and laundering, and a Negro handy man to tend the garden and mow the lawn. Indeed, the White Citizens Councils of the South are filled with petty capitalists who rant against integration and mouth the shibboleths of “race purity,” but whose greatest fear is that integration may end the vulnerability of Negro labor.

And, oh, how useful segregation and prejudice are in keeping the working class divided! And how dangerous it would be for the overlordship of capital if white and colored workers were to become conscious of their common class interests!

These, then, are the factors that account for the schizophrenic state of the capitalist class on the race question. Capitalism's imperialist interests clash with the interests of capitalists as exploiters of labor at home. This schizophrenic state was reflected in the behavior of President Eisenhower, who, while urging obedience to law in racial matters, encouraged resistance with his endorsement of the theme that segregation was rooted in the South's "mores" and "folkways."

To sum up, the history of racism in America justifies the conclusion that the support integration draws from capitalist elements today is not the product of enlightenment but the fruit of material interests. By the same token, capitalist-class material interests also explain, not only the South's intransigence on integration, but also the persistence of race discrimination as it exists in the North.

5. Reformers and Revolutionists --- Their Record on Racism

NEGROES, PUERTO RICANS, and other victims of race prejudice, who are inclined to put their faith in the promises of reformers, might profitably recall the race-reform record of the Populists. The Populist movement, which arose in the South and Midwest in the 'nineties, was essentially a movement of agrarian reform. It was a product of the deep discontent of white farmers and of the farming crisis of the 'eighties.

The Populists, in attacking prejudice and making a vigorous bid for the Negro vote (then still a significant factor in Southern politics), claimed to view the race question realistically. Tom Watson,⁵ the foremost leader of Southern Populism, put it this way:

"Gratitude may fail; so may sympathy, and friendship, and generosity, and patriotism, but, in the long run, self-interest always controls. Let it once appear plainly that it is to the interest of a

⁵ Thomas Edward ("Tom") Watson, 1856-1922, was a Democratic U.S. Senator at the time of his death. As indicated here, his political success stemmed from his reform activities as a leader of the so-called People's party. These activities were largely carried on through "Tom Watson's Magazine," "Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine," the "Weekly Jeffersonian," and "The Sentinel." Daniel De Leon challenged Watson when the demagogue attacked Socialism. De Leon's analysis of the man and his thinking may be found in a New York Labor News pamphlet, "Evolution of a Liberal," published originally under the title: "Watson on the Gridiron."

colored man to vote with the white man and he will do it . . . The People's party will settle the race question. First by enacting the Australian ballot system [the secret ballot we have today!]. Second, by offering to white and black a rallying point which is free from the odium of former discords and strifes. Third, by presenting a platform immensely beneficial to both races and injurious to neither. Fourth, by making it to the interest of both races to act together for the success of the platform." (Quoted by C. Vann Woodward in "The Strange Career of Jim Crow.")

Addressing Negroes and whites, Watson said: "You are made to hate each other because upon that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both. You are deceived and blinded that you may not see how this race antagonism perpetuates a monetary system which beggars you both." There was attractive logic in Watson's appeal. "... the colored tenant . . .," he said, "is in the same boat with the white tenant, the colored laborer with the white laborer." He promised Negroes that if they'd stand "shoulder to shoulder with us in this fight" the People's party would "wipe out the color line and put every man on his citizenship irrespective of color."

Nor should we doubt for a moment that the Populists were sincere. When Watson's native state of Georgia was leading the South in lynchings, the Populist leader said his party would "make lynch law odious to the people." And when, in 1892, a Negro Populist speaker was threatened with lynching and went to Watson for protection, "two thousand armed white farmers, some of whom rode all night, responded to Watson's call for aid and remained on guard for two

nights at his home to avert the threat of violence." ("The Strange Career of Jim Crow.")

But this movement, which was unique in that it rightly perceived that the colored worker is "in the same boat" with the white, and which correctly assayed the role of material interest, was for all its "radical"-sounding language, a small-property-owners' movement. Its concern was with the preservation of small-scale farm property. And its foe was not the capitalist system, but the "financial despotism" to which the farmers were indebted.

THE POPULISTS' ABOUT-FACE

The failure of Populism on the race question was therefore a dead certainty. However, it is in the nature of that failure that the lesson lies. For, in the face of adversity, the white Populists tended to blame the Negroes for the party's defeats. By 1898, Populists had begun to join the white supremacists in demanding that Negroes be disfranchised. Tom Watson, who was the Populists' candidate for President in 1904, continued for many years to resist the extremists. He still thought "the bugaboo of negro domination" was "the most hypocritical that unscrupulous leadership could invent."

By 1906, however, Watson became convinced that the solution to the South's political crisis required the exclusion of Negroes from the area's political life. Accordingly (in Prof. Woodward's words):

"With that in view he [Watson] offered to swing the Populist vote to any progressive Democratic candidate for governor who would run pledged to a platform of Populist reforms and Negro disfranchisement. Hoke Smith, a recent

convert to progressivism from conservative ranks, took up the challenge and Watson delivered the Populist vote . . . The picture of the Georgia Populist and the reformed Georgia conservative united on a platform of Negrophobia and progressivism was strikingly symbolical of the new era in the South. The campaign made Watson the boss of Georgia politics, but it wrote off Populism as a noble experiment, and launched its leader as one of the outstanding exploiters of endemic Negrophobia."

What a lesson in the delusive character of reform—and the fickleness of reformers! With hindsight, of course, it is easy to see that Populist ideas of racial equality sprang from the Populists' need of the Negro vote. And when Populism failed to achieve its electoral goals it dropped its ideas of racial equality—just as many of the "liberal" wooers of the Negro vote today will drop *their* ideas of racial equality, if and when it seems politically expedient.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY'S RACIST RECORD

The whole history of "radical" reformism bears out the charge that expediency determines reformers' "principles."

Take the reformist Socialist party, for example. The SP was organized in 1900 largely by elements who had bolted from the Socialist Labor Party over the issue of unionism. They opposed the SLP's uncompromising war on the faker-run, labor-dividing craft unions, and its agitation for a union that would unite the whole working class, skilled and unskilled, Negro and white. Accordingly, the new party not only plumped for the American Federation of Labor; it echoed all the anti-working class views of that job-

trust organization—including the AFL's views on immigration, races and segregation.

The record of Socialist party racism speaks for itself. It reached a climax in 1904 at the Socialist International Congress at Amsterdam, where the SP delegation, which included such SP luminaries as Algernon Lee and Morris Hillquit, introduced an infamous anti-immigration resolution which branded as "inferior" and "backward" the majority of the world's working class, identifying the alleged inferior and backward races as "Chinese, Negroes, etc."

Daniel De Leon, who headed the SLP delegation to the Congress, denounced the reactionary and anti-Socialist resolution in the most scathing terms. In his brilliant "Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress," De Leon wrote:

"Where is the line that separates 'inferior' from 'superior' races? What serious man, if he is a Socialist, what Socialist if he is a serious man, would indulge in 'etc.' in such important matters? To the native American proletariat, the Irish was made to appear an 'inferior' race; to the Irish, the German; to the German, the Italian; to the Italian — and so down the line through the Swedes, the Poles, the Jews, the Armenians, the Japanese, to the end of the gamut. Socialism knows not such insulting, iniquitous distinctions as 'inferior' and 'superior' races among the proletariat. It is for capitalism to fan the fires of such sentiments in its scheme to keep the proletariat divided."

De Leon then traced the inspiration of the SP resolution to the "class-sundering, guild-spirit-breathing [he might have added "lily white"] AFL." He showed

that the reformist SP leaders were pandering to the prejudice that infected what passed for the labor movement, the prejudice that helped the capitalists keep the workers divided.

THE SP'S SEGREGATED LOCALS

In the South the SP unprotestingly conformed to segregation practices. In Texas, the SP's own locals were segregated. When it was argued by a correspondent to the DAILY PEOPLE that "outside prejudice" had forced the SP to follow the segregation pattern, De Leon wrote scornfully:

"Why should a truly Socialist organization of whites not take in Negro members, but organize these in separate bodies? On account of outside 'prejudice'? Then the body is not truly Socialist. A Socialist body that will trim its sails (to the sacrifice of principle) to 'outside prejudices' had better quit. A truly Socialist body is nothing if not a sort of 'Rough on Prejudices.' To let up on one 'outside prejudice' is to take the plug from under all efforts directed against other prejudices. Ten to one, however, where the 'issue' arises in such a body [as it did in the SP], it is catering, not to outside, but to inside prejudices, to the prejudices of the members themselves. And then the case is even worse. Such a body should begin by disbanding. It lacks fiber." (Letter Box, DAILY PEOPLE, Oct. 25, 1903.)

Unlike the Socialist party, which is now virtually defunct, the Communist party has never advocated immigration bars against "inferior" races. On the contrary, the CP has seemed to champion the cause of racial minorities. In so doing, however, it has shown itself to be the reverse of the same coin of which the

SP is the obverse. In its bid for the Negro vote, the CP has fostered the hope that racial equality is possible within capitalist society. It has done this even though the ruling bigwigs of the CP know that capitalism breeds race prejudice, and that cruel disillusionment must follow every attempt at reform. No blacker record of cynical opportunism exists than that of the Communist party in its exploitation of the tragedies of the Negro workers.

The anti-Marxism of the CP is illustrated by the fact that, although the overwhelming majority of Negroes are wage workers (Negro "business," as E. Franklin Frazier proves in "Black Bourgeoisie," is a myth), the CP invariably appeals to Negroes *as Negroes* and not as workers. Thus CP literature abounds in the phrase "Negroes *and* workers," a subtle form of verbal segregation.

With its slogan "Self-Determination for the Black Belt" (1928-1945) the CP practiced a kind of racism of its own. The "black belt" in which it proposed that a "Negro Republic" be established consisted of the area of the South most heavily populated by Negroes. The slogan was a vulgar appeal to reactionary nationalist tendencies among Negroes. Its effect was to discourage a classconscious awakening among Negro workers.⁶

⁶ Negro nationalism has recently manifested itself in several organizations. The most extreme of these is the "Nation of Islam" or Black Muslims, led by Elijah Muhammad. The Black Muslims believe blacks — Muhammad rejects the name "Negroes" as one given by "slavemasters" — should separate completely from whites. Muhammad believes the United States should turn over several states for a separate black nation. The Black Muslims are the Negro counterpart of the diehard white supremacists.

THE RECORD OF THE SLP

What is the record of the Socialist Labor Party on this question so vital to working-class unity, hence to the social emancipation of all humanity? It is a record of consistent adherence to Marxian principle and of equally consistent rejection of expediency and compromise. At a time when Northern "liberals" and the "Socialists" of the Socialist party were expressing their agreement with the racist view that Negroes were inferior, the SLP denounced the charge as "insulting" and "iniquitous." But, of even greater significance and importance, the SLP, at this very early date exposed the capitalist roots of race prejudice. As Editor of the Party's official English-language press, De Leon kept the basic issue of wage slavery always in focus. Thus he was never tempted to becloud the fact that race prejudice is a product of capitalist economic conditions, of the capitalists' desire to subjugate all workers—black, brown, white and yellow. De Leon clearly saw in the charge of Negro "inferiority" a pretext for holding the Negro down and exploiting him without mercy. As early as 1899, De Leon wrote:

"The question is not whether the Negro is or is not an inferior race; the question is whether the Negro should be treated as cattle, given only as much as will keep him alive so as to work and produce for a master, or whether he shall have, hold and enjoy all that he produces and be robbed by none. There is no 'Negro question' any more than a 'sex question.' There is the labor or social question only."

The point is crucial. For it is the *solution* of the labor or social question only, which is to say, the abolition of capitalism and the construction of the Socialist

Republic, that can end race prejudice. In this connection, De Leon understood well the importance of characterfulness in the proletariat, Negro and white. And he attacked aught that tended to weaken the moral fiber of the mass. Thus, at a time when a majority of Negroes accepted the leadership of Booker T. Washington, De Leon inveighed against Washington's submissive philosophy. In 1903, when a group of Presbyterian Negroes attacked "the great Negro leader," De Leon applauded. Washington's popularity, the Presbyterian Negroes had said, was a "popularity that helps not the freed men but that helps Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute." De Leon then showed how Washington's idea of turning the Negro into a skilled mechanic fitted into the schemes of the capitalist plutocracy. "His [Washington's] Tuskegee," wrote De Leon in a DAILY PEOPLE editorial, Sept. 24, 1903, "is worth all the pensions that the [Andrew] Carnegies can bestow upon it." De Leon was confident that Washington's Negro followers would ultimately see him as the tool of capitalist class interests. He wrote:

"While the opposition in the colored camp to Booker T. Washington has taken long to come, it *has* come; while it is far from intelligent, it *will* become intelligent."

De Leon also had a keen and sensitive appreciation of the searing effects on colored workers of prejudice and proscription. Inevitably, such workers became *race-conscious*, and race-consciousness tended to obscure for them the overriding *class* issue. "In no economic respect," said De Leon, "is he [the Negro worker] different from his fellow wage slaves of other races; yet by reason of his race, which long was identi-

fied with serfdom, the rays of the social question reached his mind through such broken prisms that they are refracted into all the colors of the rainbow, preventing him from appreciating the white light of the question."

But De Leon had faith in the capacity of Negro workers to overcome the handicap—for handicap it is—of race-consciousness. "Once on the path of progress," he wrote in the DAILY PEOPLE, Sept. 8, 1908, "the Negro [worker] cannot long remain out of the Socialist camp. Well may the Socialist camp make ready to receive this division of the army of the proletariat that has been wandering in the wilderness since 1865."

6. Cooperation v. Competition

Competition has been a characteristic of all class-divided societies. But it is particularly and uniquely characteristic of capitalism, at least in its most extreme forms. As Frederick Engels wrote in "The Condition of the Working Class in England": "It is in modern industry that competition first becomes a factor of major importance and has been given free rein to develop unchecked to its furthest limits." In fact, the barbarous consequences of the competitive strife engendered by the profit motive of the capitalist system now threaten to engulf the whole world.

Of course, the capitalists deny this. They contend that "free competition" and the resulting "survival of the fittest" is the very essence of freedom and democracy. They exalt competition as the "life of trade." And in their propaganda they idealize competition as a kind of game in which opponents observe civilized rules. Yet it is significant that while all capitalists praise competition in the abstract, they do not desire it for themselves. Indeed, it is the dream of every capitalist that his competitors be eliminated and that he have the field for himself. The "rules" are there all right—they are the laws enacted by the capitalist State to restrain individual capitalists from rending one another. It is common knowledge that, despite these laws, the big corporations use all sorts of shady, immoral

and illegal tactics in their incessant competitive wars.⁷

But competition under capitalism is by no means confined to capitalists. Every aspect of capitalist society is infected with the destructive competitive spirit. As Engels put it:

"Competition is the most extreme expression of that war of all against all which dominates modern middle-class [capitalist] society. This struggle for existence—which in extreme cases is a life and death struggle—is waged not only between different classes of society but also between individuals within these social groups. Everybody competes in some way against everyone else and consequently each individual tries to push aside anyone whose existence is a barrier to his own advancement." ("The Condition of the Working Class in England.")

As noted earlier, there is the competition that capitalism engenders among workers for jobs. The greater the number of workers without jobs, the sharper is the competition; the sharper the competition, all the more fertile is the soil for the seed of race prejudice.

And capitalism, by its very nature, as a result of job-destroying technology—automation—and the normal increase in the working-class population, as well as of recurring "recessions" or depressions, creates a veritable army of jobless workers.

Another example, and one pertinent to the discus-

⁷ The criminality of the capitalists who run the big corporations was spotlighted when, early in 1961, General Electric, Westinghouse, Allis-Chalmers, McGraw-Edison and 18 other corporations, and 45 corporation officers were found guilty of the crime of conspiring to fix prices. Fines of \$1,924,500 were imposed, and seven officials were sent to jail for 30 days. These, and 25 others who received suspended jail sentences, as well as those just fined, were all "pillars of the community."

sion of race prejudice, is housing, of which there is a chronic shortage under capitalism. Whenever anything is in short supply the competition for it is intensified. The frequency with which race riots and other ugly manifestations of race antagonism occur in Northern communities of the United States over the housing issue underscores the point we are making.

Once one understands the nature of the strife-ridden capitalist system and the economic and material factors at work in this society he can readily see why the speciously attractive theory that prejudice may be overcome through education and scientific refutation of the race-haters' lies is doomed to failure. For this theory is based on the fatuous premise that race prejudice may be overcome by reforming men's minds while leaving untouched the social and economic conditions that breed prejudice.

CAPITALISM'S HISTORIC MISSION

Capitalism has played "a most revolutionary part"—to use the language of Marx—in the progress of the human race. In De Leon's words:

"The mission of capitalism, the Socialist knows, is so to organize the mechanism of production that wealth can be so abundantly produced as to free mankind from want and the fear of want, from the brute's necessity of a life of arduous toil in the production of the brute's mere necessities of life. Socialist philosophy has made this clear." ("Industrial Unionism—Selected Editorials.")

The point is that capitalism long ago fulfilled this historic mission. It is now an outmoded system whose prolongation deprives mankind of the benefits of the

abundance modern technology makes possible.

"Today [said De Leon], the excuse, the apology for the involuntary poverty of a single member of society exists no more. Material conditions have changed so radically that, so far from insufficiency, there is today the material possibility of abundance for all. The mechanisms and the methods of production are such today that the leisure, the freedom from arduous toil for the necessities of life, the emancipation from the clutches of fear and want, all of these prerequisites to mental and spiritual expansion, one-time enjoyable but by some, are today possible to all. Today—all statistical researches combine to demonstrate — man can have an abundance at his disposal with no more exercise of physical energies than is requisite for health." ("Abolition of Poverty.")

These facts cannot be emphasized too strongly or too frequently. No longer is it necessary for the majority to suffer deprivation or slavery in any form in order for society to progress. Capitalism with its class division, private ownership of the means of production, production for the profit of the few through the exploitation of the vast majority, and with its resultant competition and strife, has become obsolete, utterly without moral or historic justification. And this has been true ever since the tool of production reached the point in its evolution where it became possible to produce an abundance for all. From that moment on cooperation—that is the reconstruction of society on a collective and cooperative basis—became the historic and social need of the day.

To those who are inclined to be skeptical about the

feasibility of establishing society on a collective and cooperative basis, because of the dog-eat-dog environment in which we are living today, it is pertinent to note that for all but a tiny fraction of mankind's existence, society was infused with, and operated on the basis of, the cooperative spirit. In this connection, the centennial of Charles Darwin's "Origin of the Species" in 1958 focused our attention on the struggle for existence in nature. It has served to remind us that for hundreds of thousands of years before the competitive epoch of class-divided society, the human species survived in this struggle only because, within the social group (family, gens, tribe), cooperation was the indispensable rule. Without cooperation man, one of the least well equipped of all mammals, could not have gathered the food or organized the defenses essential to the survival of his species.

Today, we are once again faced with the proposition—"cooperate or die!" It is not merely a matter of ending prejudice, important as that is; capitalism spawns a host of evils of which racism is only one. Another is war, a consequence directly traceable to economic competition and class rule. And war in this age of intercontinental ballistic missiles and thermonuclear warheads means the almost certain annihilation of the human race. Hence the proposition—*cooperate or die!*—that history has placed at the top of mankind's order of business.

Fortunately for the human race the evolution of the tool has created the technical conditions prerequisite for a society of cooperation. Indeed, socialized production, the working together of large masses of workers in the creation of social wealth, and the in-

terdependence of all branches of industry, provide a natural and logical foundation for just such a society. What is needed is that the contradiction between the *private ownership* of the tools and *socialized production* be ended. What is needed is that the tools, which are *socially operated*, be also *socially owned*. And when we speak here of the tools, we mean the land, factories, mines, railroads, communications systems, etc.—all the means of production and distribution necessary to maintain the health, happiness and well-being of society. When we own all these collectively, and control and manage them democratically—substituting the principle of production for use for the obsolete practice of production for sale and profit—we shall have terminated the class struggle and all the other antagonistic, strife-breeding relationships that spring from it, including those that today breed and nourish racial antagonisms. At the same time we shall have created the material foundations for human brotherhood, social harmony and international peace.

Let no one deceive himself on this point. Preach all you like to man on the evil of race prejudice. You cannot purge him of race prejudice until he understands the material conditions that have created it, and thereby recognizes that it is in his material interest to eliminate these conditions and, with them, the evil they breed. The spirit of brotherhood will one day possess the mass of mankind, but when this spirit of brotherhood takes over it will be because every member of the social group recognizes that his individual material interests are bound up with the interests of all society.

Socialism, and Socialism alone, can create the con-

ditions of cooperation and collective interests essential to brotherhood. For, under Socialism, there will be equal economic opportunity for all. Never again will one group benefit materially because another group is held down and discriminated against. Quite the contrary, it will be in the interests of all that the talents and capacities of each member of society be fully developed and used, whatever his so-called race or color. And, in the wholesome, enlightened and cooperative climate of Socialism whatever incidental racist tendencies may be carried over from capitalism will soon die for lack of the material and social conditions necessary for their perpetuation. Socialism, and Socialism alone, is the Nemesis of race prejudice.

7. How to Build a Prejudice-Free Society

The case is proved! Capitalism is the breeder of race prejudice. To put an end to the racist evil capitalism must be replaced by the next higher social order, Socialism. The question that remains is: *How can this revolutionary transformation be brought about?*

The Socialist Labor Party is the only organization in the country that has a program for a Socialist reconstruction of society. Briefly stated, that program requires:

1. The organization of the workers into a political party of their class, one which aims to destroy the rule of capital at the ballot box through the civilized and peaceful means afforded by the Constitution of the United States; and

2. The consolidation of the workers' power on the industrial field in a Socialist Industrial Union embracing all the workers (technical, skilled and unskilled, male and female, of all colors and creeds), and prepared to act at a moment's notice to back up the Socialist ballot by taking and holding all the instruments of wealth production.

But the Socialist Industrial Union is more than the workers' power, more than a means of compelling the outvoted capitalists to accede to the will of the majority. It is also the democratically controlled admin-

istrative organ of the future Socialist Industrial Republic. As Daniel De Leon, who discovered and formulated the principles of Socialist Industrial Unionism, expressed it:

"Industrial Unionism is the Socialist Republic in the making, and the goal once reached, the Industrial Union is the Socialist Republic in operation. Accordingly, the Industrial Union is, at once, the battering ram with which to pound down the fortress of capitalism, and the successor of the capitalist social structure itself."

In short, not only does the Socialist Industrial Union organization enable the working class to move in and take over the plants and tools of production, but it also unites them to carry on production and distribution without serious interruption. Thus, the Socialist Industrial Union will assume its permanent role as the Socialist Industrial Union Government administering social production in the interest of all. It will truly be a government "of the people, for the people, by the people." For in the Socialist Industrial Republic all final authority will be vested in the rank and file of workers, not in leaders or elected despots. The rank and file will elect their foremen, management committees and representatives to all levels of the Socialist Industrial Union administration, and these will have the privilege to serve, but never the power to rule.

Not only will the rank and file have the power to elect, they will also have the power to recall and remove at will anyone they elect to any position who, in their judgment fails to measure up to his duties and obligations. This will insure that all power will remain

with the rank and file. The Socialist Industrial Republic will be a society in which those who produce all the social wealth and perform all the necessary social services will have complete ownership and democratic control of their tools and products. This is the logical form of democracy in an industrial age.

The victims of race prejudice belong in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party where they are urgently needed to promote this program for working-class and social emancipation. And it is to the Socialist Labor Party that they must come if they are not to succumb to cynicism, despair or desperation. For it is in this Spartan Marxist party *alone* that they will find the honest logic, scientific integrity and single-minded determination to go to the root of the problem. The Socialist Labor Party's record is clean. It cannot be reproached with having exploited the workers' illusion for temporary advantage. It alone among all the organizations claiming to represent labor's interests, enjoys this distinction.

It seems hardly necessary to point out here the urgency of the solution of the social question. Capitalism is disintegrating rapidly, a fact that is evident among other things in the ominous revived activities of the race-hate mongers. If the prejudice-breeding system is not to carry society down with itself, the workers — who include all the people who perform the useful labors of society — must soon break with capitalist habits of thought and organize on class lines to save mankind from catastrophe. As Arnold Petersen, National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, put it in his brief but excellent essay on "Superstition—Father of Slavery":

"There is no one so blind but that he can perceive that as things are they cannot continue. Everything has been tried but one thing, and all have failed. The one thing that has not been tried is Socialism, and in Socialism, and that alone, lies the world's hope, the possibility of a nobler and higher civilization and the certain prospect of working-class emancipation from slavery and misery, from want and the harrowing fear of want. To achieve their great and noble aim, the workers must organize *as a class*, on the basis of *their* class interests, and not on the basis of the interests of the class, or groups, that exploit them, and hold them in economic thralldom. They *must unite*, and act as one. The workers are now divided in a thousand and one ways, these divisions reflecting false claims or deliberate schemes to keep them from throwing the parasites from off their backs. False racial claims, conflicting creeds, craft divisions, competitive labor fakers whose alleged 'labor unions' are but so many vested interests maintained as much to feather the nests of the fakers as to protect the class interests of the capitalist exploiters—these, and many others, are the things that keep the workers from achieving that unity so indispensable to them if they are ever to be free. Singly the workers can be broken and kept in subjection; united, joined together in one mighty body of their own creation, and controlled by themselves alone, they are invincible!"

In understanding their historic mission to reconstruct society, the moral and cultural stature of the workers will grow. For they will have freed themselves from the most degrading bondage of all, the

enslavement of the human mind. As Maxim Gorky once expressed it:

"History demands the coming of a new man, freed from racial, national and class prejudices. Is such a man possible? The working class is about to create him. Apply your efforts, employ all your days to the creation of that ardently expected man, and you yourself will become that man."

SOCIALIST LANDMARKS, by Daniel De Leon. (240 pp.—paperbound edition, 75 cents; clothbound, \$2.25.) Contains four fundamental Socialist addresses: "Reform or Revolution," "What Means This Strike?" "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism," and "Socialist Reconstruction of Society." The addresses constitute a systematic analysis of capitalism and a program for the building of Socialism.

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